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**The Aftermath of the Civil War, in Arkansas.** By Powell Clayton, Governor of Arkansas, 1868-1871. New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1915. Pp. 378.

A multitude of works discuss the attempts of President Lincoln and of President Johnson to restore the seceding States to their normal relations in the Union and of Congress to apply to those commonwealths its system of reconstruction. From the usual presentation of this subject a Northern sympathizer, even one who has been accustomed to act with the Republican organization, can hardly avoid the conclusion that Congress blundered lamentably in the endeavor to administer its measures. In fact, he is likely to be persuaded that the orgies which marked legislative reconstruction form the only blot on the fair Republican escutcheon. The "conquered province" theory of Thaddeus Stevens and the "State suicide" theory of Senator Sumner were, perhaps, the chief ingredients in the political caldron. The spirit of vindictiveness in which this legislation was conceived would serve for the "blind-worm's sting" in the haggish mixture. After having read many, if not most of the monographs on reconstruction, the present reviewer does not remember to have seen many complimentary allusions to the programme of Congress. In fact, those narratives collectively almost justify the organization and to some extent the conduct of the Knights of the White Camelia, popularly known as the Ku Klux Klan. Admitting the existence in Washington of considerable ignorance of conditions in the South, one cannot at the same time assume that amongst Radical Republicans either stupidity or vindictiveness was universal. This supposition would be both unnatural and contrary to established facts. Indeed, there is much to be said in justification of the apparent harshness of the majority in Congress.

This author, basing his conclusions upon public documents, articles selected from hostile newspapers, intimate personal knowledge, and other reliable sources, tells a plain unwrinkled tale. He satisfactorily explains a subject hitherto not clearly understood, namely, the ready submission by Southern leaders during the months immediately following the proclamation in May, 1865, of President Johnson (relative to the conditions for establishing a loyal government in North Carolina) and their

subsequent change to an attitude of uncompromising hostility to everything Federal. For a detailed account of these causes the reader must consult the pages of Governor Clayton.

The author does not enumerate all the murders in his State, for even a brief sketch of outrages terminating fatally would of itself fill a volume. In *ante bellum* times as well as in the early *post bellum* era, intimidation, whipping, and murder were not infrequent throughout the South, but during the incumbency of Governor Clayton, 1868-1871, the Ku Klux dens of Arkansas won for that State a distinction in infamy which has probably never been equaled in any other section of the United States.

There is not in this valuable work of ex-Congressman Clayton a single boastful note. Indeed, self-praise was not necessary, for his public addresses make evident his intelligence, his patriotism and his courage. The years during which he filled the place of chief executive of his commonwealth were not such as to persuade "lily-livered" statesmen to accept high office. Beyond the Mississippi many ex-Confederates tarnished their fine military record earned in the war. In fact, one may suspect that Southern chivalry was far from being so general as readers of Civil War literature have been led to believe. There were in Arkansas many members of the White Camelia who would hardly be described as "gentle knights," and east of the Mississippi, in Tennessee, were others leagued with them in foul conspiracy. The most bitter of Radical Congressmen were angels of light in comparison with many Arkansas representatives of the "Lost Cause." It was not necessary for the author even slightly to exaggerate the hideous acts of those who made no secret of their conviction that any measures against Republicans were justified. The crimes either alluded to or described in this book were not provoked by hostile Republican legislation. Some writers have assembled extenuating circumstances, but there is not in the United States learning or ingenuity sufficient to vindicate Ku Klux brutality.

The former Governor of Arkansas, with the seasoned judgment of four-score years and two, and the temperate spirit subdued by time, has from his ample stores of information prepared much the best monograph on any phase of Congressional reconstruction that has yet been offered to the public. When

we state that this is a valuable contribution to American history, we are not using a conventional description in a vague sense. Though the remark is not altogether pertinent, it should be added that the trials of the South during reconstruction were largely due to the fact that Governors like Powell Clayton were not elsewhere in office. In fact, such men have never come in crops. Why did an executive so accomplished and so courageous, it may be asked, not meet with success more perfect? He presided over a community then backward and in many respects rude.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

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**Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.** By Lewis A. Leonard.  
New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1918. Pp. 313.

After Charles Carroll had attained to maturity of years it was no longer easy to separate the more important incidents of his life from the history of his State and country. So useful and so conspicuous were his services in the cause of American independence that the present reviewer has always been puzzled by the omission of his life from the excellent series of biographies entitled "American Statesmen." When the existence of this deficiency was brought to the notice of its general Editor, that scholarly gentleman expressed his regret that the series had been closed. Subsequently, it appears, it was opened, but into the ranks of even this lower range of statesmen the leading Maryland patriot of the Revolutionary period has not been admitted. The existence of Mr. Leonard's work, however, is a proof that there are intelligent writers who would have cheerfully undertaken so agreeable a piece of research. If it be contended that this book contains little concerning the last of the signers that is really new, the same statement may be truthfully made of many recent works of undoubted popularity. Some of them, to be sure, have put their narratives into better literary form than that in which they were first found, and in the sense that the thought belongs to him who says it best their books are original. Nevertheless, in our estimates we should not rate too highly the success of a mere thought-clothier.

If this reviewer had prepared for publication a new life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, he would have called attention to